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841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved. [123]

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed. [412]

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning. [757]

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the Pőrekamekra, Pohl writes:

> Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommende n Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. rodunativ. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (?) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segensprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[355]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[356] Ribeiro says:

> Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.
>
> (In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[357]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the Apinayé.[358] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (prĩkanyĩ'; Neobraz.: sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakę're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekẽ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

[355] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.
[356] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.
[357] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.
[358] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*

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757 the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh
824 themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous ha'túre or of another plant called poyarkwáka.

In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as pro-
755 longed, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation
[756] of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

752 The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and
755 charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief Hąktõkót, possibly the most powerful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the Yawę myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a paca which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

757 The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

177 Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the grippe—the Canella admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the paty palm, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

755 When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure
752 in the plaza. In such circumstances Hąktõkót walked around the assembled throng, smoking from a funnel of paty-palm leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green sucupira twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a bacaba palm leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village.

888 A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. Canella tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, Yawę when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

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Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called kańę̃'kate is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapí had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

On one occasion I saw Kwujkõ' safeguarding the whole population against snake bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent toothache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

The pupil whom Kwujkõ' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Hąktõkót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a sucupira twig. Hąktõkót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajára visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajára melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

Sorcery

Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are never used in sorcery.

As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (hũčí), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decree-